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G.O.P. GROUP URGES HARD LINE IN TALKS ON ARMS CONTROL

SOVIET 'VIOLATIONS' CITED

3 Senators Press Reagan to Make Treaty Compliance a Negotiating Condition

By BERNARD GWERTZMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 4 — A group of conservative Republican senators called on President Reagan today to counter what they said were Soviet violations of arms control agreements.

On the eve of Secretary of State George P. Shultz's departure for arms talks in Geneva with Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko of the Soviet Union, the senators also urged Mr. Reagan to make full Soviet compliance "a precondition to serious negotiation."

The senators made public three letters, all dated today, to Mr. Reagan, urging a tough stand on the verification question.

Bipartisan Praise

At the same time a bipartisan group of Congressional leaders praised the Administration's plans for the resumption of arms control talks.

The Administration, anticipating criticism from conservatives about negotiating with Moscow, has publicly stated it would not negotiate away its plans for research on a long-term plan.

In addition, White House officials said Mr. Shultz, in a briefing for Congressional leaders today, told them that while he was going to Geneva "in a positive frame of mind" and wanted "constructive results," the United States had to be prepared "to walk away from a lousy deal and we are."

'No Action Has Been Taken'

One letter, signed by Senators John P. East of North Carolina, Jesse Helms of North Carolina, and Steven D. Symms of Idaho, said that although the Administration had submitted reports to Congress about purported Soviet

failure to comply with aspects of arms control accords, "we are urgently concerned that no action has been taken" by the Administration in retaliation.

In a second letter, the three senators said the Soviet Union had committed 64 violations of arms control accords, far more than the seven officially acknowledged by the Administration last January and the additional 17 cited by an outside advisory panel in a report made public last October.

The assembling of the 17 purported violations apparently was primarily the work of David Sullivan, a former Central Intelligence Agency analyst, who now works for Senator James A. McClure, Republican of Idaho. Thomas K. Longstreth, a senior analyst for the Arms Control Association, wrote in the January issue of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, a publication that strongly supports arms control, that the advisory report's 17 purported violations were compiled mainly by Mr. Sullivan.

Mr. Sullivan is known to arms control specialists as a vigorous critic of the Soviet Union who has made no secret of his disdain for arms control accords.

The three senators, as well as Senator McClure, have been pressing the Administration for years to move more actively to publicize reports of purported Soviet violations. The three wrote Mr. Reagan that "we therefore urge you to have Secretary of State George Shultz press upon Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko in Geneva the absolute necessity of ending Soviet SALT violations as a precondition to serious negotiation."

They were referring to the 1972 and 1979 accords on strategic arms limitation, known as SALT.

Mr. McClure, in a separate letter to Mr. Reagan, avoided making compliance a condition, but said he hoped the President would give Mr. Gromyko "a chance to demonstrate Soviet good faith by deeds" by adhering to the agreements.

The skepticism voiced by the Republican conservatives on the arms control accords was in contrast to the strong support for Mr. Shultz's mission expressed by Congressional Republican and Democratic leaders after the White House briefing this morning by Mr. Reagan, Mr. Shultz and Robert C. McFarlane, the national security adviser.

Bob Dole, the majority leader and a Republican of Kansas, said he and Robert C. Byrd Jr., the minority leader and a Democrat of West Virginia, "came away with some degree of optimism" because the Geneva meeting "could lay the groundwork for negotiations."

Senator Richard G. Lugar, Republican of Indiana, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said the Administration's approach was "sound" and "very sensible."

Representative Dante B. Fascell, Democrat of Florida, chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, said "this was a very good meeting, in the sense that there was considerable enthusiasm and a nice display of support, a very useful feeling of bipartisanship as we go into the negotiations."

"A Long Road"

At the meeting, Mr. Reagan repeated the caution expressed by Mr. McFarlane on Thursday that the Geneva meeting was only the start of "a long road" and that there should not be undue expectations. Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said it was "the most bipartisan and cooperative" session he had ever witnessed.

Mr. Shultz assured the members of Congress that if the Geneva talks led to substantive negotiations, he would permit small groups of senators and congressmen to sit in on some negotiating sessions. This was proposed to him by Mr. Byrd.

In raising the compliance issue again, the Republicans touched on a sensitive matter for the Administration. Mr. Reagan has criticized purported Soviet violations, and officials have already said that Mr. Shultz would impress upon Mr. Gromyko the importance of full compliance for any agreements to have any lasting effect.

But the Administration has up to now resisted the efforts to make rectification of the purported violations a condition

for further agreements. Within the Administration there are many disagreements among the experts on whether the Soviet Union has violated provisions of agreements, or has just gone to the limits of what is permissible.

Report Expected on Feb. 1

Officially, the Administration has promised Congress to present it on Feb. 1 with an updated report on Soviet compliance, and it has said it was studying 19 possible violations.

There is some confusion over just how many allegations there are on Soviet violations. Last January, Mr. Reagan sent to Congress a report saying there were seven Soviet "violations and probable violations." Additionally, the General Advisory Committee on Disarmament, a group of non-Government experts, produced a report listing 17 possible violations that was made public last October.

Ten days after the White House advisory report was issued in October, the Russians denied they had violated the treaties. Instead, Moscow charged that the United States had breached arms control accords by deploying medium-range weapons in Europe, by exceeding limits on independently targetable warheads and on silo launchers, by constructing a mobile radar station and by testing Minuteman missiles for antiballistic missile purposes.

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The Administration informed Congress in November that it was studying 19 possible Soviet violations. The three senators said in their letters that they count 21 "specific violations confirmed by the Administration."

"We nevertheless believe that there are at least 43 further Soviet SALT violations widely reported in the press which have yet to be confirmed by the Administration," the three senators said. "Since that would make a total of 64 Soviet violations, we believe that a review of all of the 43 violations ought to be included in your report to Congress which has been announced as forthcoming on Feb. 1."

Issue of Siberia Radar Station

The range of purported violations is sweeping. It includes some charges that are believed by the Administration to be serious such as the construction by the Soviet Union of what is said to be a large phased-array radar station near Krasnoyarsk in central Siberia.

Another concern of the Administration is the Soviet practice of so encrypting its testing information on missiles that it is in violation of the 1979 accord that blocks concealing information needed for verification.